

ly become reconciled to the small! Our boasting and boasting have courted reaction, and we are beginning to reap the only full harvest in the country, the excess of discontent so foolishly provoked.

As yet, the most essential concern in which this element has been engaged is the capture and capture of Capital and Labor, called "Strikes," pregnant as Pandora's box with every ill for a commercial community, and with a very penny hope to remain at the bottom, till a long transition through losses and disasters has been experienced. End here it may, the struggle must produce bad blood, and convert into permanent rival interests what, for the sake of all that is good and beneficial, ought to be only one. That the operatives are much misled by parasites who live on their groans, and who, for counterfeited, and much mistaken in most of their economic views, is obvious to ordinary capacity; but it would be well if the capitalists throughout adopted more of the patriarchal character, and did not use and treat their fellow men as mere machines, formed to create their wealth. A long homily might be preached on this text, but the limits of a letter forbid it. Meanwhile, the stagnation of manufactures diminishes the request for money, and cripples trade in every department, wholesale and retail, and the business is departing from us much faster than it comes in. The Bank has not above two-thirds what it had last Christmas, in its vaults.

Parliament has been prorogued for a month, to the 29th of November, without the usual notice that it is to meet then for the dispatch of business. The King of Belgium, with his newly married son and daughter, the Duke and Duchess of Brabant, have arrived, on a visit to the Queen. Her Majesty has frequently appeared at our Court when very important affairs perplexed its royal head, and his experience and sagacity might be deemed of value to our Councils.

The Indian mail brings miscellaneous news from China, Russia, and the Cape. From China the continued progress of the insurgents is reported. From Burmah we hear that the provinces occupied by us are also occupied by some 14,000 Burmese, intent on assault and pillage; so that a renewal of the war is imminent. From the Cape we learn that Macomo and other African Kings were much discontented with the dominions to which they were banished and confined: so that, even with the Caffres, we are not sure of remaining in peace. From at present we have had a little war, the chief of which appears to have been to support a girl who had relinquished the slave trade against a competitor, who, if in power, would have resuscitated the traffic in human beings.

Persons Inmate.—The statements of well-informed English visitors to Paris represent the Emperor as much more popular than her husband; and one story has reached us from an authentic quarter, which would go far to prove that she deserved the preference. One of the most interesting comparisons of her husband's private life, it is told, being such, even to the point of death, the Emperor resolved to see and take leave of her ere she departed, and for this purpose desired a carriage suitable to the occasion, and not unbecomingly elegant, and a truly a demonstration of her sagacity of state. But when communicated to the Emperor, he peremptorily forbade the visit, and left the Empress to weep for her dying friend, without the consolation of a last farewell.

P. S.—From what has appeared in the Parisian *Monitor*, no longer disavowed, as in the first Napoleon's time, the *Monitor* is believed that hostilities have actually commenced between Russia and Turkey, and that the allied fleets in the Bosphorus are fully prepared to mingle in the war.

Intelligence from Madrid, that the Queen of Spain was generally liked and hated at the theatre, where she appeared with her imbecile husband in the same box, and her nervous close by, has created a considerable sensation, and is truly a demonstration of her sagacity of state. But when communicated to the Emperor, he peremptorily forbade the visit, and left the Empress to weep for her dying friend, without the consolation of a last farewell.

The last few days have deluged England and Ireland with floods of gold, and added to the apprehensions of scarcity now, and a bad harvest next season, as the winter wheat sowing is stopped almost throughout the entire lands which would be devoted to arable culture.

NEW YORK CORRESPONDENCE.

New York, Nov. 19, 1853.
To the Editor of the National Era:

I entertained the hope that, by the date of this writing, I should be able to give the readers of the *Era* some definite statistics of the vote of the Free Democracy for our State ticket, at the recent election. But I am disappointed, and am favored by the enterprise of the controlling newspapers for anticipated nothing of the sort; but I did expect that, when they came to publish the official returns, we should have no prejudice given to this party or that. And yet I find in even the *Tribune*, which has been always classed among the most liberal papers of this country in such matters, what purports to be official returns, in which the results of the Whig, Hard, and Soft votes are given, without a single figure indicating the Free Democratic vote. Probably the columns were too narrow for fuller tables! In the mean time there are gleams here and there of evidence that the principles of the Free Democracy have been appreciated by the masses, as heretofore; and as I said last week, the very triumph of the prohibitory movement against intemperance is one of our triumphs in this, at least, that it shows that the trammels of the old Hunker parties are being fast broken, and that principles, rather than party ties, are coming to be regarded as never before. To effect this, is a preliminary work of the Free Democratic organization, and it has largely assisted in bringing it about. Thus the way has been prepared for the Maine Law itself, which would have found an unopposed passage in the blind devotion to party which, in the past, has been country so universally. Let us not be discouraged.

I took a glance the other evening at Powell's great picture of the Discovery of the Mississippi, which, as you are aware, was ordered by Congress for the vacant space of the Rotunda of the Capitol, but which the artist has been permitted to exhibit in this city previously to consigning it to its allotted niche. I confess that it did not quite come up to the expectation which I had formed, and I was disappointed in my mind. But this was no fault of its own, and it is sufficient to say that it is a great picture, whatever its artistic faults, as I do not hesitate to do without deigning to enter upon a criticism, for which I am not prepared. None of the subjects of the pictures previously ordered by Congress having been taken from the west side of the Alleghenies, it was just and fitting that this one should be. In his choice of time and place, the artist (William H. Powell, formerly of Cincinnati) has been quite fortunate.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" is now being played at two places in this city, as well as in Philadelphia. Barnum has added a version to the entertainments of his Museum. I have not witnessed its performance there yet. I understand that it attracts great crowds, while the attendance at the National Theatre is undiminished. Such, in fact, is the exhaustless popularity of the plot of the book of Mrs. Stowe, that almost every sort of a dramatic rendition of it would draw. And the remark leads me to say, in anticipation of whatever impression which a personal inspection would make, that this Museum version has received a notice in the *Tribune*, which leads me to fear that it has been designed to pander to pro-slavery apoplexy, rather than to afford a frank and fair presentation of the scenes and opinions of the book. This was to have been anticipated, perhaps, if it is to be an offer of the piece now being performed at the National, that he would not let it come on his boards in that shape for five hundred dollars a night, indicating that he did not intend to have the popular prejudice so gloriously shared by Mr. Furly of the National. Now, was it magnanimous to introduce the play in competition at this late day after the National had taken the risk? Mr. Barnum generally does up his speculations on a large scale. Second, that he has already flourished, because otherwise sufficiently attractive, establishment did not need the material aid Uncle Tom is so capable of securing.

I am loth to believe that the introduction of any version of this play, in this second-hand way, is any favorite scheme of his! The vindication, by Massachusetts, of her State sovereignty, in the arrest of Yankee Sullivan, for engaging in the recent prize fight at Boston. Four Corners—a hitherto "disputed territory," according to the vulgar impression—has given a natural gratification to all law-abiding and order-loving people.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1853.

PERSPECTIVE OF THE EIGHTH VOLUME OF THE NATIONAL ERA.
G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The *National Era* is a weekly newspaper, devoted to Literature and Politics.

In Literature, it aims to unite the Beautiful with the True, and to make both immediately subservient to the practical purposes of everyday life.

In Politics, it advocates the Rights of Man, and the Equality of Rights, and opposes whatever violates or tends to violate them, whether this be involuntary Personal Servitude, Civil Disobedience, Spiritual Absolutism, Class Legislation, the Selfishness of Capital, the Tyranny of Combination, the Oppression of a Majority, or the Exactions of a Party.

It holds no fellowship with the Whig and Democratic organizations, believing that the main issues on which they have been arrayed against each other are obsolete or settled, and that they are now chiefly used by the Sectional Interest of Slavery, to impair the love of Liberty natural to the American mind, and to subjugate the American People to its rule.

Disclaiming all connection with them, it yet sympathizes with those of their adherents who are honestly seeking through them to advance the substantial interests of the country, although it will not believe that they have not chosen the better way.

It is a supporter of the Independent Democracy, which holds that the Truths of the Declaration of Independence are practical, that in their light the Constitution of the United States is to be interpreted, that to them the laws and institutions and usages of the country should be conformed—a Party, whose motto is, *Union, not for the sake of Union, but for the sake of Freedom and Progress; and Love, not for the sake of Law, but for the Protection of Human Rights and Interests*—the only sure foundation of order and concord.

In no sense is it the organ of a Party, or a mere Party Paper, but absolutely "free and independent," claiming to speak "by authority" for nobody except its editor, and recognizing no authority in any quarter to prescribe its course and policy.

The Eighth Volume of the *Era* will commence on the first of January ensuing, and be enlarged by the addition of four columns. We have neglected no means that could promise to make it an agreeable companion for the Household, and an efficient coadjutor to the enlightened Politician. It has secured able correspondents at home and abroad, and no journal in the country can surpass the *Era* as it respects contributors to its Literary Department.

The *Era* publishes condensed reports of the proceedings of Congress, explains movements in that body, the causes of which do not always lie upon the surface, and from its position is enabled to keep a constant watch upon the action of the Federal Government in relation to all questions at issue between Liberty and Slavery.

The only journal at the seat of the Federal Government, representing the Anti-Slavery Sentiment of the Republic, while the Pro-Slavery Sentiment is represented here by four daily papers, nearly all of them being liberally sustained by Governmental patronage, it asks the support of all who believe, in sincerity, that the *Union* was forced to secure the blessings of Liberty, and not to perpetuate the curse of Slavery.

Payment in advance is invariably required. To prevent annoyance and loss to ourselves and readers, to preserve their files unbroken, and to enable us to know how large an edition of the paper to issue, all subscriptions should be renewed before they expire. We have no credit-subscribers on our books.

TERMS.
Single copy - - - \$2
Three copies - - - 5
Five copies - - - 8
Ten copies - - - 15
Single copy six months - 1
Ten copies six months - 8

These are the terms for both old and new subscribers, forwarding their own subscriptions. AGENTS.

Agents are entitled to fifty cents on each new yearly subscriber, and twenty-five cents on each renewed subscriber—except in the case of clubs.

A club of three subscribers, one of whom may be an old one, at \$5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the *Era* for three months; a club of five, two of whom may be old ones, at \$8, to a copy for six months; a club of ten, five of whom may be old ones, at \$15, to a copy for one year.

When a club of subscribers has been forwarded, additions may be made to it, on the same terms.

Money to be forwarded by mail at our risk. Large amounts may be remitted in drafts or certificates of deposit. When money is sent, notes on the Banks of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, are preferred. New England notes are at least discount than New York State notes, and these less than Western notes.

G. BAILEY.
P. S. Newspapers friendly to our enterprise will please notice or publish our Prospectus, as they may see proper.

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS ALONE.

Nobody need read this, but those for whom it is intended. Our subscribers will excuse us for being somewhat urgent in relation to business matters. It is no easy matter to renew so extensive a list as that of the *Era*. Every year we are obliged to remind them that our system rigorously requires payment in advance; so that their names are dropped from our books, unless they forward money to renew them. Many of them are forgetful—many absorbed in business—they are apt to neglect so little an affair as enclosing a two dollar bill to the newspaper publisher. Hence the necessity of pressing the matter continually upon them, and hence the importance of the action of voluntary agents—that is, of those friends of the paper who are so deeply impressed with the duty of giving it a vigorous support, that they voluntarily assume the task of going about their neighbors, every year, and collecting their subscriptions and names. As we remarked lately, we delayed calling upon them at so early a period as usual, so that the work of renewing is a little behindhand. This being the case, we hope our subscribers will club together or send individually their subscriptions, without waiting to be called upon. Let anyone, so disposed, constitute himself an agent, and see to the renewing of all the subscribers at his post office. And cannot every one send us at least a new name, so as to encourage us in the

improvement we contemplate making in the paper, and which will involve a large additional expenditure?

We suppose the reason why our voluntary agents have not yet generally reported, is, that they have been holding back, with a view of procuring as many new subscribers as possible; but we trust they will wait no longer. Our clerks can manage the work much more easily when the reports are made through several consecutive weeks, than when they are all crowded within a short period. Besides, to tell the truth, we feel a little nervous every year just about this time, lest our subscribers might be growing weary of us; and an editor takes just as much pleasure in writing every week for a vast circle of readers, as a preacher or lecturer does in talking to a big congregation.

So, between you and me, considerate reader, the editor of this paper is somewhat anxious, near the close of every volume of his paper, until he has satisfied himself that he has lost none of his flock by his rigid system of payment in advance.

"CONARD WRAY: A ROMANCE OF MODERN HISTORY."

We have announced that in the beginning of our next volume we shall commence the publication of a narrative, with the title above mentioned, from the pen of a literary gentleman in England. The following extract from a letter we have lately received from him, will acquaint the reader with the design and scope of the story:

"I propose," he says, "to illustrate the workings of Secret Societies in France, with the principal features of which I have had peculiar opportunities of becoming acquainted, during a residence in that country of nearly seven years. I believe few persons are aware of the powerful instrumentalities their organization brought into the political field in the years 1848 and 1852; or of the use that had been made of them by the principal actors in the great drama that have been played from time to time in France. Although in name my tale will be fiction, and although many of the incidents and personages may, to some extent, be imaginary, I wish to make the publication serve the cause of Humanity, of political Freedom, of Truth. I have lost many friends, alas! in the desperate struggles which, from time to time, have deluged the streets of beautiful Paris with the blood of some of her best citizens and bravest soldiers. I have been myself a spectator of many scenes of slaughter; and seen the man, who now wears the imperial diadem, in the character of a London adventurer, and of a political convict; for I was present during his trial at the Luxembourg for the affair at Strasbourg. I may, therefore, claim to speak with something of authority, and only hope to be able to portray to your readers, as accurately as they are impressed on my own mind, the scenes I have witnessed and the men I have known."

JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

One day last week, a little fellow, eight years old, was brought before one of our magistrates, on a charge of theft. The fact was proved, and the parents, who were present, said that he had been seduced into a dishonest course by a band of young thieves in the city, well known to the police. The father declined to give bail, saying that the law must have its course; and the boy, scarcely old enough to be out of the charge of a nurse, was sent to jail!

A little boy, so tender in years, that he was death to send him before the bar of God, he would scarcely be held accountable for his offense, consigned, as if he were a responsible offender, a mature criminal, to the disgrace, and privations, and horrible associations of a jail, by Human Law!

In that same jail is another little boy, about the same age, whose first offense, when he was about six years old, was setting an old house afire, that he might have the pleasure of seeing the engines in operation—a mere freak of mischief, which parental discipline could have corrected. That brutal punishment—incarceration, the incarceration of an infant—made him a child of hell. He was thrown into a den of hardened criminals, some, householders, some swindlers, some incendiaries, some, murderers; they were his sole companions; their obscene jests, their loathsome tales of crime, were his meat and drink from day to day. Six times has he been committed to jail, and yet he is not ten years old! "The law must take its course," said that unnatural parent, and the poor boy, eight years old, goes to the same school of crime, to be perfected in wickedness!

Is not this horrible? Is this a Christian community? Oh, yes! we have churches, and we are all a church-going people. Our ministers read with pathos the saying of Christ, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven;" and then we send little children to the jail and to the devil without compunction. Infanticide were better than such cruelty. That is but killing the body—this is murdering the soul.

If we have no pity for the little children, we should at least have some consideration for ourselves. If the wit of Satan were taxed to devise a sure way to convert boys into beasts of prey, he could hit upon nothing so adapted to this end, as sending them, for petty crimes, to herd with hardened outcasts in a dungeon, separated from all good, subjected to all evil. Are we really anxious to breed criminals?

The law that sends children to jail is brutal. The Legislature that provides no asylum, no house of refuge or correction for juvenile offenders, is as delinquent as if it should pass no laws for the punishment of crime. As well let the adult criminal go at large, as to subject the irresponsible, child-offender to the same punishment as is inflicted on him. Society builds asylums for the insane, the deaf and dumb, the blind—and yet we hesitate not to say, that less suffering and mischief would follow from the absence of any public provision for these, than from the neglect to provide houses of correction for juvenile offenders, and from the practice of consigning them to the horrible associations of a jail.

What has become of the zeal of our citizens temporarily awakened in regard to this subject? It was announced, about a year ago, that Mr. Corcoran had pledged himself to give ten thousand dollars towards the erection of a House of Correction and Employment, provided the citizens would contribute the remainder necessary to complete the enterprise. Some interest was manifested for a time in the project, but since then we have heard nothing about it. It is time to act, and act efficiently. The *Evening Star* says that the gang of boy thieves who led this poor little fellow astray, have a den called "The Rat Hole;" and it adds, "they are still operating, and we hope our policemen will be on the lookout for them, and the persons who receive their stolen goods."

Suppose they should be on the look out, and arrest a dozen child-thieves, of eight or ten years old, and send them to jail, to be encouraged and trained to further crime by the experienced felons in that highly respectable school for morals, what benefit would society derive? For Heaven's sake, let us provide some place for these poor little outcasts, where the deplorable effects of orphanage, or want, or vicious parental training, may be corrected, and whence the young offender may be restored to society, educated, well disciplined, with good habits, and with the knowledge of some useful craft.

THE LATE ELECTION IN NEW YORK.
The Presidential vote in New York, in 1844, 1848, and 1852, was as follows:

| | 1844. | 1848. | 1852. |
|--------|---------|-------|-------|
| Clay | 232,482 | | |
| Polk | 237,588 | | |
| Birney | 15,812 | | |
| Total | 485,882 | | |

Majority for Polk over Clay, 5,106.
Majority against Polk, 10,706.

Neither the Whig nor the Democratic party embraced the majority of the votes of the State.

| | 1848. | 1852. |
|-----------|---------|-------|
| Taylor | 218,591 | |
| Cass | 114,307 | |
| Van Buren | 121,395 | |
| Total | 454,293 | |

Decrease in four years in total vote, 31,589.

Decrease of Whig vote, 13,891.

There was a large decrease in the Democratic vote, but it is impossible to estimate it, as the Liberty men generally voted with the Van Buren party.

| | 1852. | 1856. |
|--------|---------|-------|
| Pierce | 262,239 | |
| Scott | 234,918 | |
| Hale | 26,000 | |
| Total | 523,157 | |

Increase in total vote over that of 1844, 37,275.

Increase in total vote over that of 1848, 67,864.

Increase in Democratic vote since 1844, 24,651.

Increase in Whig vote since 1844, 2,436.

Increase in Liberty vote since 1844, 10,188.

The vote in 1844 was a full one. Parties were well organized, and put forth severally their utmost strength. The proportion of voters to the white population, was as 1 to 5½. The divisions of 1848, and the policy of the Whig and Democratic Conventions on the Slavery question, disgusted many of their adherents, and the result was, a large mass of voters staid at home. While the whole population had increased nearly three hundred thousand, the vote fell thirty-one thousand.

In 1852, the Democratic party succeeded in temporarily reuniting its ranks, and the prestige of a military commander prevented a general disruption of the Whig party, although it could not produce entire unanimity. The result was an increase of the whole vote of thirty-seven thousand over 1844; but, compared with the increase of the whole population, this was but small. The population of New York in 1845 was 2,604,495—in 1850, 3,097,394. In 1852, it must have reached 3,300,000. Thus, while the whole population had increased seven hundred thousand, the voters had increased only thirty-seven thousand. The vote in 1844 was as 1 to 5½ of the whole population; in 1852, as 1 to 6½. Had it then been as 1 to 5½, the total vote would have been nearly 620,000. One hundred thousand voters therefore, disaffected by the conduct of the old parties, or alienated from old associations, without having contracted new ones, absented themselves from the polls.

Of this year's vote for State officers, the official returns have not yet been published, but it is thus estimated: Whig, 158,000; Hard, 97,000; Soft, 95,000—Total, 350,000. The Independent Democratic vote is not yet reported, and we have no means of guessing at it. We doubt whether our friends entered into any general organization. They were deeply interested in the success of the Temperance cause, and probably cast their votes for Temperance candidates, with little reference to any other question. But suppose their vote should amount to 15,000, the total vote in the State in 1853 will be only 365,000—a falling off, since last year, of 158,000. "Adding this to the 100,000 citizens who did not vote last year, we have two hundred and fifty-eight thousand voters absented themselves from the polls in 1853! Of these, one hundred thousand are Whigs, so called, the rest men who have generally adhered to the Democratic party.

The majority of these, we may presume, have been disaffected by the policy pursued by the Party Managers and Party Conventions on the question of Slavery.

As the Whig State Convention refused to express any opinion on the Compromise or Fugitive Slave Law, in other words, to adopt the test of "Nationality," as we may derisively style it, and as it put in nomination a ticket composed chiefly of Seward men, the presumption is, that the vote, 158,000, is a fair indication of the average strength of the Seward section of the party.

Many of the Silver Grays would naturally take no interest in such an election, while others of them, more active as politicians or speculators, would fraternize with the "Hards." This fact explains in part the strength of the vote given for the Hard ticket. In 1848, the Radical Democrats, or Van Buren men, were 121,000 strong, with a majority of seven thousand over the Hunkers, or Cass men. In 1849, a reunion between the two factions was commenced by the Compromise men of each, the Hunkers, who favored the reunion, being called "Softs." Very soon, the Barnburners so completely abandoned their distinctive position on the Slavery question, that they were merged with the Softs, and took their name.

The uncompromising Hunkers, headed by Daniel S. Dickinson, looked with little favor upon the reunion, but submitted to it till after the election of General Pierce; so that, from the time of the reunion till this year, no opportunity arose for ascertaining what the Barnburners had gained in strength, or for testing the relative strength of the Hards and Softs. The prevailing impression was, that the Hards were a small faction, inconsiderable in strength and influence, and this doubtless had its weight with the Administration when it resolved to commit itself against them in the recent election. Unexpectedly, the impression in relation to the Softs, has been proved to be an illusion. The Barnburners, who numbered in 1848, one hundred and twenty-one thousand, and the Softs, who were supposed to constitute a majority of the one hundred and fourteen thousand who voted for General Cass, by their fusion and mutual concessions, have reduced themselves to less than one hundred thousand all told, and the uncompromising Hards, with the Federal patronage and influence and organ all against them, are proved to have the majority!

Now, let us give due weight to the alliance of the "Silver Grays," and to the corrupting influence of Maynard, and to the ridiculous, blundering letter of Mr. Guthrie—it must be obvious that these circumstances are not important enough to have produced results so astounding. That which has done more than anything else, to reduce the vote and diminish the power of the "Barnburners" and the "Softs," rendering them so insignificant that the Administration must cut loose from them, or hasten the dissolution of which it is already doomed, is the fact, that the masses of the Radical Democracy of New York have refused to ratify the degrading concessions of their Principles,

made in their name by demagogues at Syracuse. Unprepared for open revolt, because deserted by their leaders, one resource was left them—non-action. They could not be forced to swallow the Compromise, the Fugitive Law, and the Negro Slave—so they staid at home; and their unscrupulous leaders, who fondly hoped by their apathy to recommend themselves to the Administration and the South, and secure at once Federal and State patronage, find that they have played the fool, as well as the traitor—that they are at last stripped of the power to make their treason available to themselves or acceptable to the masters, before whom they have gone through so many gulleions.

God grant that it may ever be so—that they who sow the wind may reap the whirlwind—that the Slave Power may find in every Northern vessel only a pauper and a burden.

THE RESULT OF THE ELECTION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The telegraph brings intelligence of the triumph of the Whigs, in the election held in Massachusetts on the 14th instant. The vote for Governor, in 318 towns, is: For Washington, Whig, 57,682; Bishop, Dem., 32,676; Wilson, Ind. Dem., 28,459; Wales, Hunker Dem., 5,163; scattering, 800. The new Constitution is defeated by a majority of from 5,000 to 8,000. On the Legislative ticket, the Whigs have made such gains that it is said they will have a majority in the Legislature, and thus be able to elect the Governor and State officers.

Many circumstances conspired to produce this result. The people of Massachusetts are constitutionally conservative, and the Money Power in that State is always potent. The Whig Party, specially representing the conservative element, and devoted to the interests of Property, is necessarily so formidable, from its wealth and numerical strength, that unless all the antagonistic views and interests can be combined against it, it must prove invincible. In rare cases, such combination has been effected, and that policy which had given the State to the Coalition for a few years, was attempted to be carried out in the late canvass. But circumstances were not auspicious. The extreme pro-slavery character of the Administration, and the shameless pledges of devotion to its platform given by the Coalition Democrats, disgusted many of the Free Soil or Independent Democrats. Mr. Adams and Mr. Palfrey, men of undoubted integrity and great weight of character, felt constrained to take an open stand against the new Constitution, with which the Coalition was identified. On the other hand, the extreme Hunker Democrats assailed the Coalition, because it gave countenance to Free-Soilism. Thus weakened on both sides, the Coalition was further embarrassed by the manifesto from Washington, from Caleb Cushing, announcing the intention of the President to proscribe every Democrat who should favor it, or stand as a Coalition candidate. Indignant as might have been the majority of the Party at this gross act of Federal intermeddling, it did its work; for in every Party there are plenty of men weak enough to be awed, or corrupt enough to be bribed, by Power.

To the action of the Hunker faction of the Democracy, to the base concessions of the more liberal section of the Party, and to the insolent intermeddling of the pro-slavery Democratic Administration at Washington, are to be attributed, chiefly, the triumph of the Whigs, as well in Massachusetts as in New York.

FEDERAL AND STATE RELATIONS.

Our readers have not forgotten the case of John Freeman, a colored man, residing at Indianapolis, who was seized last January by Pleasant Ellington, of the State of Missouri, as his fugitive slave. The claimant was so confident and vindictive, that he not only refused bail for Freeman, but rejected all propositions of purchase, at any price, should it turn out that the man was his slave. Two months afterwards proof was produced that Freeman was not a slave. Being discharged, he commenced suit against the Marshal, John L. Robinson, for malfeasance in the premises. Thereupon, Senator Bright submits the case to the Secretary of the Interior, propounding two inquiries:

1. Whether the case can be transferred from the Courts of the State of Indiana to those of the United States? And

2. Whether the Marshal may be authorized to employ counsel in his defense at the charge of the United States?

The Secretary refers the subject to the Attorney General, who, in a letter to the President, dated 14th instant, and published in the Washington *Union* on the 16th, is of opinion that the case cannot, under any existing provisions of law, "be removed to the Courts of the United States," although it "may be made the subject of revision there." As to the second point, he is "of opinion that it would be proper for the President to authorize counsel, at the public charge, for the defence of the marshal." The right of the President to do so is emphatically affirmed; but whether he shall exercise the right or not in every case, is for his own judgment to determine.

"I shall not attempt to lay down any general rule of Executive discretion in such cases, for the reason already intimated, that this discretion must of necessity be guided by the particular circumstances. But questions in the execution of laws which affect the relation of the United States to foreign Governments, or the relations of the States between themselves, or them and the Federal Government, may, it seems to me, occasionally require the employment of counsel in behalf of the ministerial officers of the United States whose official acts are in controversy."

"In fact, the Government of the United States acts in the domestic affairs of the country chiefly through its judicial and ministerial officers. In the case of the Marshal, the question is, whether the said services have been or shall be rendered, to be paid from the appropriation for defraying the expenses of the judiciary." (Session Laws, 1851-52, p. 99.) For aught I can see to the contrary, this provision of law is directly applicable to the subject-matter, and was designed to be so by Congress.

"I advise, therefore, that the authority prayed for, under suitable regulation, given in this case to the Marshal."

Well, we suppose the law must be reversed, and the expositors of the law held in high honor, and the Executive officers of the law sustained to the utmost, no matter what violent or indecent acts they may be guilty of in discharging their functions. And it may be very convenient for politicians, looking to a certain quarter for approbation and reward, to denounce resort to the State courts for the redress of grievances committed by the minions of Federal authority, as intended to harass and vex the loyal servants of the Republic. But, if Caleb Cushing, on the claim of some slave-hunter, were torn from his home, and from the employment which gives him his bread, were lodged in jail for two months, among vagabonds and criminals, subjected to ignominious personal inspection, and then, claim being found fraudulent and false, were turned loose, without reparation or apology for the outrage committed upon him, he would feel almost as much injured as Freeman, and possibly, like him, might seek redress from a judicial tribunal.

This vile law, which the "organ" says, is "the vital portion of the Adjustment," in omitting to provide reparation to persons seized in hot haste, restrained of their liberty for weeks or months, on insufficient evidence, and then discharged for want of proof to support an ill-considered or fraudulent claim, leaves the outraged person no resort but to the justice of the State Courts.

PROJECT TO RAISE THE POSTAGE.

We suspect that the Postmaster General is meditating the expediency of recommending to Congress an increase of postage either on letters or newspapers. *Observer*, the Washington correspondent of the *Public Ledger*, favors the public with the following statement:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 13, 1853.

"The working of the cheap postage on the financial means of the Post Office Department, is not what has been predicted for it, by the advocates of the system. I remember having stated in the *Ledger*, at the time that the bill was under discussion, that the system would not bear the same fruit which it bore in England, and that the Department, which had a surplus revenue at the time, would probably become a charge upon the Treasury. In spite of the economical arrangements of the Department, all this has since become true. The law, which was carried under a heavy outside pressure, has not answered as a revenue measure, and will require some amendment from the next Congress, if, as some believe, the Post Office is to be able to support itself."

"Our population is not so dense as that of England, and the country being so much larger, the expense of mail service between the Atlantic and Pacific coast, and between the sea shores and the interior,